

CONFISCATION AND LIBERATION.

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S P E E C H

OF

HON. GEO. W. JULIAN,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

FRIDAY, MAY 23, 1862.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

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# SPEECH.

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The House having under consideration the bill to confiscate the property and free from servitude the slaves of rebels—

Mr. JULIAN said :

Mr. SPEAKER : Before closing the debate on the measures of confiscation and liberation now before us, I desire to submit some general observations which I hope may not be regarded as irrelevant to these topics, or wholly unworthy of consideration. I do not propose to discuss these particular measures. I deem it wholly unnecessary. I believe everything has been said, on the one side and on the other, which can be said, and far more than was demanded by an honest search after the truth. Certainly, I shall not argue, at any length, the power of Congress to confiscate the property of rebels. I take it for granted. I have not allowed myself, for a single moment, to regard the question as open to debate, nor do I believe it would ever have been seriously controverted, had it not been for the infectious influence of slavery in giving us false views of the Constitution of the United States. It was ordained "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." I take it for granted that our fathers meant to confer, and did confer upon us, by the terms of the Constitution, the power to execute these grand purposes, and made adequate provision for the exercise of that power. I feel entirely safe in indulging this reasonable intendment in their favor ; and I hand over to other gentlemen on this floor, and in the other end of the Capitol, the ungracious task of dealing with the Constitution as a cunningly devised scheme for permitting insurrections, conniving at civil war, and rendering treason to the Government safer than loyalty.

Sir, I have little sympathy for any such friends

of the Union, and I honor the Constitution too much, and regard the memory of its founders too sacredly, to permit myself thus to trifle with the work of their hands. The Constitution is not a shield for the protection of rebels against the Government, but a sword for smiting them to the earth, and preserving the nation's life. Every man who has been blessed with a moderate share of common sense, and who really loves his country, will accept this as an obvious truth. Congress has power—

*"To declare war ; to grant letters of marque and reprisal ; to make rules concerning captures on land and water ; to raise and support armies ; to provide and maintain a navy ; to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ; to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions ; and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into effect the foregoing powers."*

Here we find ample and express authority for any and every measure which Congress may see fit to employ, consistently with the law of nations and the usages of war, which fully recognise the power of confiscation. And yet for long, weary months we have been arguing, doubting, hesitating, deprecating.

As to what is called slave property, we have been most fastidiously careful not to harm it. We have seen a lion in our path at every step. We have seemed to play the part of graceless stipendiaries of slaveholding rebels, seeking, by technical subterfuges and the ingenious arts of pensioned attorneys in desperate cases, to shield their precious interests from all possible mischief. So long have we been tugging in the harness of our southern taskmasters, that even this horrid conspiracy of rebel slave-masters cannot wholly divorce us from the idea that slavery and the Constitution are one and inseparable. Sir, while I honor the present Congress for its great labors and the many good deeds it has performed, I must yet count it a shame and a reproach that we did not promptly enact an efficient confiscation bill in December last,

which would have gone hand in hand with our conquering legions in the work of trampling down the power of this rebellion, and restoring our bleeding and distracted country to the blessings of peace. Many thousands of dear lives and many millions of money would thus have been spared; for which a poor atonement, indeed, can be found in the learned constitutional arguments against confiscation, which have consumed so much of the time of the present session of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, this never ending gabble about the sacredness of the Constitution is becoming intolerable; and it comes from exceedingly suspicious sources. We find that just in proportion as a man loves slavery, and desires to exalt it above all "principalities and powers," he becomes most devoutly in love with the Constitution, as *he* understands it. No class of men among us have so much to say about the Constitution as those who are known to sympathize with Jefferson Davis and the pirate crew at his heels. It will not be forgotten that the red-handed murderers and thieves who set this rebellion on foot went out of the Union yelping for the Constitution, which they had conspired to overthrow, through the blackest perjury and treason that ever confronted the Almighty. I remember no men who were so zealously on the side of the Constitution or so studiously careful to save it from all detriment as Breckinridge and Burnett, while they remained nominally on the side of the Union. Every graceless miscreant who has wallowed in the filthy mire of slavery till he has outlived his own conscience, every man who would be openly on the side of the rebels if he had the courage to take his stand, every opponent of a vigorous prosecution of the war by the use of all the powers of war, will be found fulminating his distardly diatribes on the duty of standing by the Constitution. I notice, also—and I do not mean to be offensive—that the Democratic leaders who have recently issued a semi-rebel address from this city, are most painfully exercised lest the Constitution should suffer in the hands of the present Administration.

Mr. Speaker, I prefer to muster in different company. I prefer to show my fealty to the Constitution by treating it as the charter of liberty, as the foe of rebellion, and as amply armed with the power to save its own life by crushing its foes. Sir, who are these men in whose behalf the Constitution is so persistently invoked? They are rebels, who have defied its power, and who, by taking their stand outside of the Constitution, have driven us to meet them on their own chosen ground. By abdicating the Constitution, and conspiring against the Government, they have assumed the character of public enemies, and have thus no rights but the rights of war, while in dealing with them we are bound by no laws but the laws of war. Those provisions of the Constitution which de-

fine the rights of persons in time of peace, and which must be observed in dealing with criminals, have no application whatever to a state of war, in which criminals acquire the character of enemies. The powers of war are not unconstitutional, because they are recognised and provided for by the Constitution; but their function and exercise are to be regulated by the law of nations governing a state of war, and not by the terms of the Constitution applicable to a state of peace. Hence I must regard much of this clamor about the violation of the Constitution on our part as the sickly higgling of pro-slavery fanatics, or the poorly disguised rebel sympathy of sniveling hypocrites. We must fight traitors where they have chosen to meet us. They have treated the Constitution as no longer in force, and we should give them all the consequences, in full, of their position. By setting the Constitution at naught, they have rested their case on the naked power of lawless might; and, therefore, we will not give them due process of law, by trying, convicting, and hanging them according to the Constitution they have abjured, but we will give them, abundantly, due process of *war*, for which the Constitution makes wise and ample provision.

I have referred, Mr. Speaker, to the influence of slavery in giving us false views of the Constitution. It has also given us false ideas as to the character and purposes of the war. We are fighting, it is said, for the Union as it was. Sir, I should be glad to know what we are to understand by this. If it means that these severed and belligerent States must again be united as one and inseparable, with secession forever laid low, the national supremacy vindicated, and the old flag waving over every State and every rood of the Republic, then I agree to the proposition. Every true Union man will say amen to it. But if, by the Union as it was, we are to understand the Union as we beheld it under the thieving Democracy of the last Administration, with such men as Davis, Floyd, Mason, and their God-forsaken confederates, restored to their places in Congress, in the army, and in the Cabinet; if it means that the reign of terror which prevailed in the southern States for years prior to this rebellion shall be re-established, by which unoffending citizens of the free States can only enter "the sacred soil" of slavery at the peril of life; if, by the Union as it was, be meant the Union with another James Buchanan as its king, and Chief Justice Taney as its anointed high-priest, steadily gravitating, by the weight of its own rottenness, into the frightful vortex of civil war; then I am not for the Union as it was, but as I believe it will be, when this rebellion shall have worked out its providential lesson. I confess that I look rather to the future than the past; but if I must cast my eye backward, I shall select the early administrations of the Government, when the chains of the slave were crum-

bling from his limbs, and before the Constitution of 1789 had been mutilated by the servile Democracy of a later generation.

Mr. Speaker, this clamor for the Union as it was comes from men who believe in the divinity of slavery. It comes from those who would restore slavery in this District if they dared; who would put back the chains upon every slave made free by our Army; who would completely reestablish the slave power over the national Government as in the evil days of the past, which have culminated at last in the present bloody strife, and who are now exhorting us to "leave off agitating the negro question, and attend to the work of putting down the rebellion." Sir, the people of the loyal States understand this question. They know that slavery lies at the bottom of all our troubles. They know that but for this curse this horrid revolt against liberty and law would not have occurred. They know that all the unutterable agonies of our many battle-fields, all the terrible sorrows which rend so many thousands of loving hearts, all the ravages and desolation of this stupendous conflict, are to be charged to slavery. They know that its barbarism has moulded the leaders of this rebellion into the most atrocious scoundrels of the nineteenth century, or of any century or age of the world. They know that it gives arsenic to our soldiers, mocks at the agonies of wounded enemies, fires on defenceless women and children, plants torpedoes and infernal machines in its path, boils the dead bodies of our soldiers in cauldrons, so that it may make drinking cups of their skulls, spurs of their jaw bones, and finger joints as holiday presents for "the first families of Virginia" and the "descendants of the daughter of Pocahontas." They know that it has originated whole broods of crimes never enacted in all the ages of the past, and that, were it possible, Satan himself would now be ashamed of his achievements, and seek a change of occupation. They know that it hatches into life, under its infernal incubation, the very scum of all the villainies and abominations that ever defied God or cursed his footstool. And they know that it is just as impossible for them to pass through the fiery trials of this war without feeling that slavery is their grand antagonist, as it is for a man to hold his breath and live.

Sir, the loyal people of these States will not only think about slavery, and talk about it, during the progress of this war, but they will seek earnestly to use the present opportunity to get rid of it forever. Nothing can possibly sanctify the trials and sufferings through which we are called to pass but the permanent establishment of liberty and peace. If this is not a war of ideas, it is not a war to be defended. As a mere struggle for political power between opposing States, or a mere question of physical strength or courage, it becomes impious in the light of its horrid baptism of fire and

blood. It would rank with the senseless and purposeless wars between the despotisms of the Old World, bringing with it nothing of good for freedom or the race. What I said on this floor in January last, I repeat here now, that the mere suppression of this rebellion will be an empty mockery of our sufferings and sacrifices, if slavery shall be spared to canker the heart of the nation anew, and repeat its diabolical deeds. Sir, the people of the United States, and the armies of the United States, are not the unreasoning machines of arbitrary power, but the intelligent champions of free institutions, voluntarily espousing the side of the Union upon principle. They know, as does the civilized world, that the rebels are fighting to diffuse and eternize slavery, and that that purpose must be met by a manly and conscientious resistance. They feel that

"Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just."

and that nothing can "ennoble fight" but a "noble cause." Mr. Speaker, I can conceive of nothing more monstrously absurd, or more flagrantly recreant, than the idea of conducting this war against a slaveholders' rebellion as if slavery had no existence. The madness of such a policy strikes me as next to infinite. Here are more than a million of men called into deadly strife by the struggle of this black power to diffuse itself over the continent, and strike down the cause of free government everywhere, deluging these otherwise happy States with suffering and death without parallel in the history of the world; and yet so far has this power perverted the judgment and debauched the conscience of the country, that we are seriously exhorted to make still greater sacrifices, in order to placate its spirit and spare its life. I thank God that such a policy is simply impossible. The hearts of the people of the free States, and of the soldiers we have sent into the field, beat for liberty; and without their love of liberty, and the belief that it is now in deadly peril, the rebellion would have triumphed, just as the struggle of our fathers, in 1776, would have ended in failure, if it had been possible to make them ignore the great question of human rights which nerved their arms and fired their hearts.

My colleague, [Mr. Voorhees,] in his speech the other day, was quite eloquent in his condemnation of the financial management of this war, and quite painstaking in his effort to show the magnitude of the debt it is creating. He would do well to remember that when Mr. Chase took charge of the Treasury, the Government could only borrow money by paying one per cent. per month, while United States six per cent. bonds are now at two per cent. premium over American gold. As to the immense burden which this war is heaping upon us, it has been chiefly caused by the mistaken policy of tenderness towards the rebels, and immunities for their pet institution; and this policy

been steadily and strenuously urged by my colleague and his Democratic associates. It has been far less the fault of the Administration than of some of our commanding generals, and of conservative gentlemen in both Houses of Congress, who have sought by every means in their power to accommodate the war policy of the Government to the equivocal loyalty of the border States. Many precious lives and many millions of money were sacrificed by the military policy which neither allowed the army of the Potomac to march against the enemy, nor go into winter quarters, during the dreary months which preceded the order of the President directing a combined movement on the 22d of February last. The policy of delay, which has also sought to spare slavery, was never accepted by the President of his own choice, but under the influence of those both in and out of the army in whom he reposed confidence at the time.

I rejoice now to find events all drifting in a different direction. I believe rebels and outlaws are to be dealt with according to their character. I trust slavery is not much longer to be spared. Congress has already sanctioned the policy of gradual abolition, as recommended by the President, who himself recognises slavery as the grand obstacle to peace. We have abolished slavery in this District, and thus branded it with national reprobation. We have prohibited it in all national territory, now owned or hereafter to be acquired. We have enacted a new article of war, prohibiting our army from aiding in the recapture of fugitives, and I trust we shall promptly repeal the fugitive slave law of 1850, or at least suspend its operation during the rebellion. We have given freedom to multitudes of slaves through our confiscation act of last July, and by receiving them into our camps and retaining them in our service. We have enacted the homestead bill, which at once recognises the inalienable rights of the people and the dignity of labor, and thus brands the slave power as no act of the nation ever did before. Since that power has ceased to dominate in Congress we are perfecting, and shall soon pass a bill for the construction of a Pacific railroad, and another for the abolition of polygamy in Utah. Our watchwords are now—Freedom, Progress.

Those patriotic gentlemen who have been anxious to hang "abolitionists," as equally guilty with the rebels, are changing their tune. We are reconsidering the folly of dealing with rebels as "misguided brethren," who must not be exasperated, and while we shall not imitate their barbarities, we are learning to apply to their case the gospel of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." We are waging war in earnest; we are beginning to love freedom almost as dearly as the rebels love slavery; we are animated by a measure of that *resentment*

which the rebellion demanded in the very beginning, and has constantly invoked during the progress of the war; and when these troubles are passed the people will honor most those who have sought to crush the rebellion by the quickest and most desperate blows, and who, in the language of Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, have been willing to "recognise all men, even black men, as legally capable of that loyalty the blacks are waiting to manifest, and let them fight with God and nature on their side." The proclamation of General Fremont, giving freedom to the slaves of rebels in Missouri, has done more to make his name a household word than could all the military glory of the war; and I rejoice that, while the President saw fit to revoke the recent sweeping order of General Hunter, he took pains to couple that revocation with words of earnest warning, which have neither meaning nor application if they do not recognise the authority of the Executive, in his military discretion, to give freedom to the slaves. That this authority will be executed, at no very distant moment, I believe most firmly. The language of the President obviously implies it, and foreshadows it among the thickening events of the future. Conservatives and cowards may recoil from it, and seek to postpone it; but to resist it, unless Congress shall assume it, will be to wrestle with destiny.

Mr. Speaker, I shall support the two measures of confiscation and liberation now before us, for the same reason which led me to support the confiscation bill of last July. They look in the right direction, and I am glad to see any advance step taken by Congress. But I shall retain, at any rate, my faith in the President, and in that logic of events which shows, amid all the seeming triumphs of slavery, that the anti-slavery idea has been steadily and surely marching towards its triumph. The victories of slavery, in fact, have been its defeats. It triumphed in the Missouri compromise of 1820; but that triumph, by begetting new exactions, kindled and diffused an unslumbering anti-slavery sentiment which kept pace with every usurpation of its foe. It triumphed in the annexation of Texas; but this, by paving the way for the Mexican war, more fully displayed its spirit of rapacity, and led to an organized political action against it which finally secured the control of the Government. It triumphed in 1850, in the passage of the fugitive slave act, the Texas boundary bill, the overthrow of the Wilmot proviso, and the inauguration of the policy of popular sovereignty in our Territories, which afterwards brought forth such bloody fruits in Kansas. But these measures, instead of glutting the demands of slavery, only whetted its appetite, and brought upon it the roused and intensified hostility of the people. It triumphed in the repeal of the Missouri restriction; but this was, perhaps, the most signal defeat in the whole history of its career of

aggression and lawlessness, completely unmasking its real character and designs, and appealing to both conservatives and radicals to combine against it. It triumphed again in the Dred Scott decision and the election of James Buchanan as President; but this only enabled slave-breeding Democracy to grow to its full stature, and bud and blossom into that perfect luxuriance of diabolism through which the Republican party mounted to power. Slavery triumphed, finally, when it clutched the national Treasury, sent our Navy into distant seas, plundered our arsenals, fired on our flag, and sought to make sure its dominion by wholesale perjury, treason, rapine, and murder; but all this was only a grand challenge to the nation to meet it in mortal combat, giving us the right to choose any weapons recognised by the laws of civilized warfare. Baffled and overborne in all its previous encounters, slavery has now forced upon the nation the question of liberty or death; and I cannot doubt that the triumphs of freedom thus far will be crowned by final victory in this grand struggle. The cost of our victory, in treasure and blood, and the length of the struggle, will depend much upon the madness or the wisdom which may dictate our policy; but I am sure that our country is not so far given over to the care of devils as to allow slavery to come out of this contest with its life. To believe this, would be to take sides with "the fool" who "hath said in his heart, there is no God."

The triumph of anti-slavery is sure. In the day of its weakness, it faced proscription, persecution, violence, and death, but it never deserted its flag. It was opposed by public opinion, by the press, the religious organizations of the country, and by great political parties, which it finally rent in twain and trampled under its feet. It is now the master of its own position, while its early heroes are taking their rank among "the noble of all ages." It has forced its way into the presidential chair, and rules in the Cabinet. It dictates the legislation of Congress and speaks in the Courts of the Old World. It goes forth with our armies, and is every hour more and more imbuing the soldiers of the Republic with its spirit. Its course is onward, and while

"The politic statesman looks back with a sigh,  
There is doubt in his heart, there is fear in his eye;"

and even those slimy doughfaces and creeping things that still continue to hiss at "abolitionism," betray a tormenting apprehension that their day and generation are rapidly passing away. In the light of the past the future is made so plain that "he that runs may read." In the year 1850, when the slave power triumphed through the "final settlement" which was then attempted, I had the honor to hold a seat in this body; and I said, in a speech then delivered, that—

"The suppression of agitation in the non-slaveholding States will not and cannot follow the 'peace measures' re-

cently adopted. The alleged death of the Wilmot proviso will only prove the death of those who have sought to kill it, while its advocates will be multiplied in every portion of the North. The covenant for the admission of additional slave States will be repudiated, while a renewed and constantly increasing agitation will spring up in behalf of the doctrine of 'no more slave States.' The outrage of surrendering free soil to Texan slavery cannot fail to be followed by the same results, and just as naturally as fuel leads the flame which consumes it. The passage of the fugitive slave bill will open a fresh wound in the North, and it will continue to bleed just as long as the law stands unrepealed. The existence of slavery in the capital of the Republic, upheld by the laws of Congress, must of itself keep alive an agitation which will be swelled with the continuance of the evil. Sir, these questions are no longer within the control of politicians. Party discipline, presidential nominations, and the spoils of office, cannot stifle the free utterance of the people respecting the great struggle now going on in this country between the free spirit of the North and a dominating oligarchy in the South. Here, sir, lies the great question, and it must be met. Neither acts of Congress nor the devices of partisans can postpone or evade it. It will have itself answered. I am aware that it involves the bread and butter of whole hosts of politicians; and I do not marvel at their attempts to escape it, to smother it, to hide it from the eyes of the people, and to dam up the moral tide which is forcing it upon them. Neither do I marvel at their string of guns and bacchanalian libations over 'the dead body of the Wilmot.' Such labors and rejoicings are by no means unnatural, but they will be followed by disappointment. It is vain to expect to quiet agitation by continued concessions to an institution which is becoming every hour more and more a stigma to the nation, and which, instead of seeking new conquests and new life, should be preparing itself with grave clothes for a decent exit from the world; concessions revolting to the humanity, the conscientious convictions, the religion, and the patriotism of the free States."

Sir, I speak to-day in the spirit of these words, uttered nearly twelve years ago, and verified by time. A small band of men in Congress braved public opinion, the ruling influences of the time, and every form of proscription and intimidation, in standing by the cause which was overwhelmingly voted down. But although outvoted, it was not conquered. "It is in vain," says Carlyle, "to vote a false image true. Vote it, and revote it, by overwhelming majorities, by jubilant unanimities, the thing is *not so*; it is *otherwise* than so, and all Adam's posterity, voting upon it till doomsday, cannot change it."

The history of reform bears unfailing witness to this truth. The cause which bore the cross in 1850 wears the crown to-day. "No power can die that ever wrought for truth," while the political graves of recreant statesmen are eloquent with warnings against their mistakes. Where are those northern statesmen who betrayed liberty in 1820? They are already forgotten, or remembered only in their dishonor. Who now believes that any fresh laurels were won in 1850, by the great men who sought to gag the people of the free States and lay the slab of silence on those truths which to-day write themselves down, along with the guilt of slavery, in the flames of civil war? Has any man in the whole history of American politics, however deeply rooted his reputation or god-like his gifts, been able to hold dalliance with slavery and live? I believe the spirit of liberty is the spirit of God, and if the giants of a past generation were not strong enough to

wrestle with it, can the pigmies of the present? It has been beautifully said of Wilberforce that he "ascended to the throne of God with a million of broken shackles in his hands, as the evidence of a life well spent." History will take care of his memory; and when our own bleeding country shall again put on the robes of peace, and freedom shall have leave to gather up her jewels, she will not search for them among the political fossils who are now seeking to spare the rebels by pettifoggery their cause in the name of the Constitution, while the slave power is feeling for the nation's throat. No; God is not to be mocked. Justice is sure. The defenders of slavery and its despicable apologists will be nailed to the world's pillory, and the holiest shrines in the temple of American liberty will be reserved for those who shall most faithfully do battle against this rebellion, as a gigantic conspiracy against the rights of human nature and the brotherhood of our race.

## THE EMANCIPATION BILL.

On Monday, May 26th, the House voted on this bill and defeated it by four majority. All the Democrats and border State men present voted against it, and those Republicans whose names will be found in italics. The following is the bill, with the vote appended:

A BILL to free from servitude the slaves of rebels engaged in or abetting the existing rebellion against the Government of the United States.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That if any person within any State or Territory of the United States shall, after the passage of this act, wilfully engage in

armed rebellion against the Government of the United States or shall wilfully aid or abet such rebellion, or adhere to those engaged in such rebellion, giving them aid or comfort, or cry such person shall thereby forfeit all claim to the service or labor of any persons commonly known as slaves; and all such slaves are hereby declared free as forever discharged from such servitude, anything in the laws of the United States or of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. And whenever thereafter any person claiming the labor or service of any such slave shall seek to enforce his claim, it shall be a sufficient defence therefor that the claimant was engaged in the said rebellion, or aided or abetted the same, contrary to the provisions of this act.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That if any person claiming to be entitled to the service or labor of any other person shall seek to enforce such claim, he shall, in the first instance, and before any order shall be made for the surrender of the person whose service or labor is claimed, establish not only his claim to such service or labor, but also that such claimant has not in any way aided, assisted, or countenanced the existing rebellion against the Government of the United States.

The bill was rejected, 74 against 78, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Aldrich, Alley, Arnold, Allen, Babbit, Baker, Baxter, Beaman, Blair, (Mo.), Blair, (Pa.), Blak, Buffinton, Campbell, Chamberlain, Clark, Colfax, F. A. Conning, Roscoe Conkling, Cutler, Davis, Duell, Edgerton, Edwards, Eliot, Ely, Fenton, Fessenden, Frank, Gooch, Gowin, Garley, Hanchett, Hickman, Hooper, Hutchings, Jolia, Kellogg, (Mich.), Lansing, Loomis, Lovejoy, McKnight, Phelps, Moorhead, Morrill, (Me.), Morrill, (Vt.), Oil, Patton, Phelps, (Cal.), Pike, Pomeroy, Potter, Rice, (Me. Riddle, Rollins, (N. H.), Sargent, Sedgwick, Shanks, Sheppard, Spanning, Stevens, Trowbridge, Van Horn, Van Valkeburgh, Verree, Wall, Wallace, Walton, (Vt.), Washburn, Wheeler, White, (Ind.), Wilson, Windom, and Worcester.

NAYS—Messrs. Allen, Ancona, Bailey (Pa.), Biddle, (Pa.), Browne (R. I.), Browne (Va.), Calvert, Clemens, Cobb, Corning, Cox, Cravens, Cristfield, Crittenden, Daws, Delano, Diven, Dunlap, Dunn, English, Fisher, Granger, Grider, Haight, Hale, Harding, Harrison, Hollman, Horst, Johnson, Kellogg (Ill.), Kerrigan, Killinger, Knapp, LaLazier, Leary, Lehman, Mallory, Maynard, Menzies, Merrill, Nixon, Noble, Noell, Norton, Nugent, Odell, Pennington, Perry, Phelps (Mo.), Porter, Price, Rice (Mass.), Richardson, Robinson, Rollins (Mo.), Segar, Sheffield, Shiel, Smith Steele (N. Y.), Steele (N. J.), Stratton, Thomas (Mass. Thomas (Md.), Train, Trimble, Vallandigham, Voorhees, Wadsworth, Ward, Webster, Whaley, Wickliffe, Wood, and Woodruff.